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NEWS & VIEWS

The Layman and the Heavy

A Berrigan-like blood-pouring incident at Hawaii's Hickam Air Force Base featuring author-professor James Douglass was followed by a testy exchange involving Honolulu's Catholic bishop, John J. Scanlan.

Bishop Scanlan protested use of the word catholic (lower-case 'c') by Douglass and his six colleagues in identifying themselves as dousers of top-secret files in the main planning room of the Directorate of Electronic Warfare.

The seven had "no right" to use the title "catholic Action Group," said Bishop Scanlan. "The Catholic Action established by Pope Pius XI for the 'cooperation of the laity with the apostolate of the hierarchy' in no way resembles the activities of this group. Those people have dishonestly appropriated the name Catholic Action and have no right to label themselves as such."

Douglass rejoined by citing the Vatican II condemnation of massive, indiscriminate bombing, a vote in which Bishop Scanlan joined. The members of catholic Action accept "his" teaching, said Douglass, formerly of Notre Dame and now assistant professor of religion at Hawaii University. He went on:

"On the other hand, we question Bishop Scanlan's knowledge and understanding of this fundamental Catholic teaching because not once have we known that teaching to be applied by the bishop in his own diocese.

"Not once has he questioned publicly, much less condemned unequivocally, the massive bombing which is planned and targeted from Hickam Air Base, and which has killed, wounded, or made refugees of 3,000,000 Indochinese people since Richard Nixon became President. Not once, in a diocese on a military-dominated island, has the bishop preached that traditional Catholic teaching, reaffirmed by Vatican II, on the duty to refuse to cooperate in such war crimes. Not once has the voice of Bishop Scanlan been heard on behalf of a basic Catholic teaching which he says we in catholic Action have no right to assert as a basis for our actions."

The *Honolulu Advertiser* featured the Douglass statement on its op-ed page.

Douglass and two members of the group were charged, meanwhile, with conspiring to destroy government property, and released on $1,000 bail.

Douglass' new book will be published next month by Doubleday. It is entitled *Resistance and Contemplation: The Way of Liberation.*

Rumors Confirmed

It's very official now: the U.S. Catholic Conference's Office for UN Affairs is being closed, as of June 30.

Last October, USCC officials were parrying reports that the office was to be shut down. And last November the U.S. bishops drew up a 1972 budget for the office of $48,748, without cluing why it was half the amount requested or that they had come to a decision about the office.

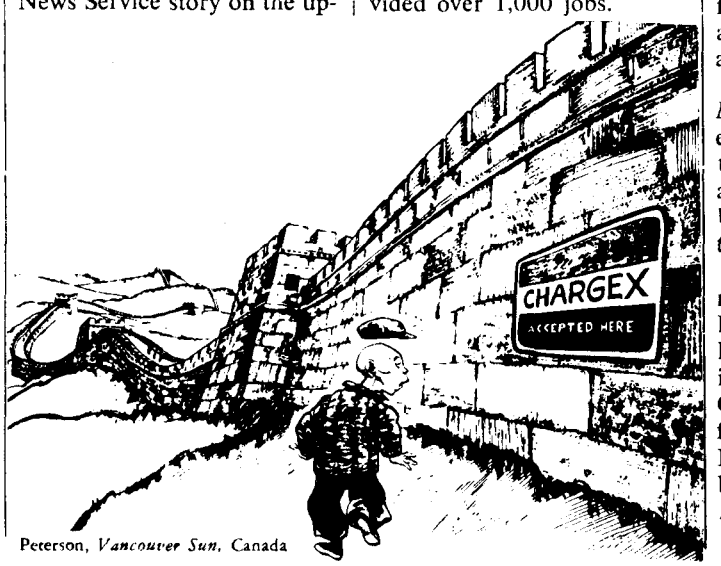
But indeed they had—some months before. The last (sic) paragraph of a recent NC News Service story on the upcoming spring meeting of the bishops revealed the projected closing of the Office for UN Affairs, and added that the matter was settled "in a separate action decided *last September.*" (So much, once again, for forthrightness.)

The USCC decision is attributed to tight finances—plus the facts that the Vatican has a permanent observer at the UN, and the bishops, a Division for Justice and Peace in Washington. The latter seemingly made a USCC Office for UN Affairs especially superfluous.

The action is defendable, I suppose, according to a strict pragmatics. Nevertheless, one regrets to see the office close. For 25 years the office has been an important channel of information for the various USCC departments, and it frequently was instrumental in fashioning a Christian response to the problems facing the UN. If only for these reasons, the Office for UN Affairs was a presence worth preserving.

Irish Mist

It isn't just the tourist business that is off in Ireland. Foreign industrial investment is being scared away also. The Derry killings and the burning of the British Embassy in Dublin, for instance, are said to have cost the country nine industrial projects that would have provided over 1,000 jobs.



Peterson, *Vancouver Sun*, Canada

British investment, said the *Irish Independent*, a Dublin daily, is already down to the point of being "almost nonexistent." In 1970, 25 percent of industrial grant approvals were for British projects. Last year the figure was only 3 percent.

To make up for the loss of British investment, the Irish are turning towards Japan. The Irish Industrial Development Authority is planning to open an office in Tokyo within a few months, and hopes to persuade the Japanese to broaden their industrial interest in Ireland.

The Irish are already negotiating with Japanese concerns on a manganese dioxide plant in County Cork, and for textile, leather, dairy and "children's leisure goods" plants in other parts of the country.

A recent survey by Daywa Securities, one of Tokyo's leading securities houses, rated Ireland at the top of countries in which to invest.

Odds and Ends

—Never missing an opportunity for juxtaposition, the *New York Times* bumped its item about the firing of film critic John E. Fitzgerald from *Our Sunday Visitor* (for listing *A Clockwork Orange* and *The Last Picture Show* among his ten-best for '71) off a story out of Washington recording a U.S. Catholic Conference official's protest against the issuance of a postage stamp on family planning.

—The New York *Catholic News*' "Movie Facts for Parents" column cautions against the film *Sacco and Vanzetti* as an "irreverent portrayal of U.S. justice and criminal system."

—In preparing the press release announcing Dorothy Day's selection for the 1972 Laetare Medal, Notre Dame information director Dick Conklin went to *Who's Who* for biographical data. Where Dorothy Day should have been alphabetically, he found . . . who else but Doris Day.

JOHN DEEDY

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CORRESPONDENCE

School Crisis

Milwaukee, Wisc.

To the Editors: Ed Marciniak is a forthright guy, not reluctant to identify any crossroads he may be standing at and what direction he proposes to take away from it. It is too bad, therefore, that it fell to him, as chairman of the Chicago School Study Commission, not to state his own position but rather to defend [Feb. 18] the Commission's report against George Elford's criticisms [Jan. 28]. Because Elford was right. The report describes realistically the crossroads at which the Chicago schools are standing. It's recognizable as the one at which all our schools are standing. But the directions in which the Commission would like the schools to proceed from the crossroads are—I must agree with Elford—not new, challenging, promising.

Taking "crossroads" as a figure for the broad question: "Which way should the schools go for survival?" it is quickly apparent that the answer must be the composite, inter-related, integrated answers to 4 major questions:

1. What is the purpose of the Catholic schools?

2. What kind of "religion," if any, should be taught in them?

3. How should they be financed?

4. How should decisions about them be made and implemented?

The Chicago Commission's answers were:

1. Purpose: one should not hope to discover a consensus on this point. At any rate, it is not for this Commission to offer an answer. Let each group interested in a particular school develop its own sense of purpose.

2. Program: in this time of polarizing debate over this question, it is not for this Commission to suggest an answer. Let each group interested in a particular school decide what kind of religion, if any, should be taught in that school.

3. Finance: the cost situation is des-

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WAR POWER

Who will ever be able to measure the cost of the Vietnam war, both in human suffering and material waste? Thanks to our national technological know-how, vast areas of Indochina have been laid waste, and if the casualty figures are even remotely accurate, over one million men, women and children have been killed. Scores of thousands of others have been uprooted from their ancestral homes, and there are no accurate figures on the number of Vietnamese families that have been hopelessly shattered by the war.

Such devastation has been the price of a war carried on by succeeding Presidents but never really debated in House or Senate. Congress has voted funds for Vietnam year after year, true, but this is no substitute for a full-scale debate. When American troops are committed by the President, whether in Vietnam or the Dominican Republic, it is very hard for legislators to cut off the funds necessary to support them. And when the lives of "American boys" are already being lost in combat, the public tends simply to rally behind the President rather than weigh the issues seriously; in such circumstances the hard question as to exactly why our troops are involved in the first place tends not to get asked.

All of this makes very important a recent, little-noticed action of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, in which that body issued a favorable report on a bill designed to curb the President's war-making powers. By this action the stage has been set for a momentous constitutional debate in the Senate during the weeks ahead. In that debate the battle lines are already reasonably clear. On one side are those who would define and in the process curb the Presidential war-making powers of the kind that plunged us into the morass in Vietnam. What the proposed legislation would provide is that in the absence of a Congressional declaration of war, the President could not use the armed forces except in certain specified emergencies, such as an attack upon the United States or its forces or an imminent threat of such attack, or to protect American citizens endangered in a foreign country. Even in such emergencies the President could not continue hostilities for more than 30 days without Congressional approval. Lined up in support of the measure are Republican and Democratic Senators representing a wide range of opinion, from Senators Jacob Javits of New York and Thomas Eagleton of Missouri to Senators Robert Taft Jr. of Ohio and John Stennis of Mississippi. Arrayed against the bill are the Administration, those in the

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Senate who still support the war in Vietnam, and those in general who fear any tampering with the Presidential powers. Speaking for this group was Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona, who called the legislation unconstitutional; some idea of how much unchecked power Senator Goldwater would grant to the President may be seen in his statement that "183 years of experience under the Constitution has firmly established the principle that the President, as Commander-in-Chief and the primary author of foreign policy, has both a duty and a right to take military action at any time he feels danger for the country or its freedoms." To give a President such unchallenged power, of course, is to risk the danger of constant war.

In point of fact, it should be noted, those who support the curb on the President's power to make war do not question his right to take quick and decisive action in the event of a sudden attack or any other genuine emergency. What they do object to is the notion that the President may use the armed forces at will in situations that do not constitute national emergencies and for as long a period as he sees fit, as has been done in Vietnam. With these views we are heartily in sympathy—indeed, there is much to be said for Senator Fulbright's claim that even this restrictive law allows the President more power than he should have; if he had his way, for example, Senator Fulbright would ban the use of nuclear weapons entirely without prior Congressional authority. Points like these deserve the most sober consideration by Congress and public alike, and we hope the eventual debate in the Senate will prove worthy of the gravity of the topic.

DOROTHY DAY

Not all the honorifics within Catholic circles have stood up as well as the Laetare Medal, an award which Notre Dame University presents annually to a notable American Catholic. Part of the reason is that the award has not been trivialized, as, for instance, certain knighthoods have. Secondly, it has been kept remarkably clear of triumphalism, something which can be said of but few awards of its type.

This year Notre Dame selected Dorothy Day to receive the Laetare Medal—a choice as apt as any since the first medal went to John Gilmary Shea in 1883, and so unqualifiedly deserved as to evoke a "well done" from cynics on the whole business of awards and honors.

The choice is apt becaues if there is one person whose life and work reflect solid, positive responses to the major social urgencies of this century, that person is Dorothy Day. Quietly but effectively she has moved from issue to issue having to do with justice and peace, as these themselves have passed through their steady evolutions. Dorothy Day has not turned welfare systems around, or inspired statesmen to grand and dramatic decisions. But by standing forever on the side of society's outcasts and by witnessing constantly for peace in its purest, Christian sense, she has demonstrated what our common humanity demands by way of compassion and commitment. In this sense, she has influenced many lives in ways the exalted sometimes never do.

In recent years Dorothy Day's concepts of Christian non-violence have occasionally kept her somewhat apart ideologically from the witness of certain activists, including some who have come out of her own Catholic Worker Movement. As much as she abhors the war in Vietnam, for example, she is patently fearful of where even the so-called non-violent violence might lead. "We must hang on to our pacifism in the face of all violence," she has said. "We must retain our pacifism the way Gandhi, Martin Luther King and Cesar Chavez retained it. It's the most difficult thing in the world, and the one that requires most faith." Some find this counsel cautious in terms of certain exigencies of the day, but Dorothy Day's wisdom is that of 72 years and her logic in a strong Christian tradition.

Dorothy Day's life and witness resist neat summation, but Father Theodore Hesburgh handled the task so as to satisfy all her admirers in announcing the Laetare award. His words could also be ours. "Dorothy Day has been comforting the afflicted and afflicting the comfortable virtually all her life," Father Hesburgh said. "Always a little bit in advance of the acceptable, she has pricked the conscience of us all, reminding us that the way to the Father is in service to the least of his brethren. In a society buffeted by various types of political radicalism, she has exemplified the most radical approach of all: Christian love. No one has put it better than she once did when she said, 'Love is indeed a brash and dreadful thing to ask of us, of each of us, but it is the only answer."

NEXT WEEK

JAMES V. SCHALL writes about the university, the monastery and the city:

"A monastery is essentially a place to pray and worship. In Western tradition, formal political speculation, that is, thought about the city, began with the search for a thinker, a philosopher king who could truly know the absolute good and thereby share it with all men in the polis. The Christian monastery, as conceived by the early Benedictines, believed that the worship of God and the fraternity of the brothers were the prerequisites to knowledge. For the Greeks, action led to contemplation; for the Christians, thought was the natural outflow of prayer and worship. *Credo ut intelligam.* But for both, the pursuit of knowledge could not be divorced from the ultimate question."

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PRIESTS IN POLITICS

PETER STEINFELS

THE FEBRUARY 3 issue of the English-language edition of *L'Osservatore Romano* contains an article titled "Priest, Prophet and the Political Party" by the Reverend Donald W. Wuerl, secretary to Cardinal John J. Wright. I hesitate to mention this fact because, by and large, the fewer people who even know there is an English-language edition of *L'Osservatore Romano*, the better off we all are. President Nixon's schemes for the Miami Dolphins are bad enough, but Pope Paul's allocution to the Italian rugby champions from Antonianum College? Certainly I do not favor censorship, but this is not the sort of thing I would want to fall into the hands of my children.

But to return to the article. It argues the thesis that priests should not hold political office. The priestly role as prophet of the Word demands freedom from partisan commitment and entanglement with party and electoral ideology. The phenomenon of the "priest-politician" tends to confuse the Gospel with transient political positions. It points backward toward the evils of clericalism from which the church only too recently escaped. It should be added that Father Wuerl's article is addressed almost exclusively to the U.S. situation. American tradition and American pluralism, he says, make the priest-politician singularly inappropriate here.

I admit a great sympathy for this argument, a sympathy I inherit from the tradition known as liberal Catholicism which grew up as a counter to the throne-and-altar arrangements of the *ancien régime*. I only wish the matter were so simple. Simplicity has never been the cardinal virtue of statements hailing from Rome.

1. Begin with the matter of Father Drinan, who appears to be a prime priest target of both Father Wuerl's article and some earlier comments by Cardinal Krol. Father Wuerl refers to "one case where a priest office-holder has already found it necessary to reject the teaching of the church on abortion." Perhaps Father Wuerl unwittingly picked up this non-fact from James Hitchcock whose book reported that Drinan adjusted his position on abortion to suit the needs of his Congressional campaign. The slightest bit of checking by either author would have shown them that Drinan (a) has not rejected the church's position on abortion, and (b) had developed a position emphasizing the religious and legal risks of maintaining abortion *laws* several years before he ran for Congress. I will be happy to correct myself on this point if either of these authors prove me wrong. If not, however, I am sure that they will be equally as happy to apologize publicly for what amounts to slander. Space for their retractions will be provided free of charge.

2. The Drinan question may not be as incidental as it seems. For whatever one may think of his stance on abortion legislation, he has evolved this position precisely out of consideration for the problems of pluralism—with which Father Wuerl claims to be so concerned. Would pluralism be necessarily strengthened by replacing Congressman Drinan with the kind of Catholic lay legislator who kept the Massachusetts birth control law on the books for years? Living in a pluralist society presents problems much wider than simply avoiding priest-politicians. Clericalism cannot be equated with x number of priests in office; it has flourished in societies where clerics were clever enough to keep in the background.

3. The fact that Father Wuerl's article is neatly trimmed to accommodate past clericalism in Europe as well as its recent resurgence in countries like Spain and Italy only reinforces the suspicion that he has not quite confronted the issue squarely. At the very moment he was writing, the Italian church was stoking up its Catholic Action committees as electoral machinery for the Christian Democrats. Perhaps it is of minor significance that Luigi Gedda, the right-wing head of this operation, is a layman—though many parish priests will join in the electioneering. Exceptional circumstances could be cited to justify this activity—the recent gains of Italian neo-fascism—but then exceptional circumstances could be cited in the Drinan case—the war—and in numerous other instances, raising the question of how exceptional is exceptional. I am sorry Father Wuerl chose to ignore this pertinent example.

4. Discussion of the priest-politician is further complicated by the questions which have arisen concerning the nature of the priesthood, as well as by the sociological and theological changes which have altered the priest's position in the community of Christians. Traditional liberal opposition to the priest-politician arose in a situation where the laity's attitude toward the priest's authority and toward the sacramental system, which the priest controlled, was rather different than it is today.

The idea of priests' running for office continues to strike me as something to be discouraged. But I also wonder whether the critics of priest-politicians are truly worried about a new clericalism or about the possibility of priests' diverging from traditional behavior patterns.

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THE CHINA TRIP

a symposium

William Pfaff

'. . . as ruthless in peace as war'

THE CHINA TRIP, important in itself, is most interesting as an episode in the American national psychodrama. Even before the trip, with a rush of enthusiasm America had transformed the China of our minds from indefatigable aggressor and subverter of Asia, prime geopolitical menace, into a reawakened nation of peaceful construction, high civilization, arcane medical arts. In the window of Saks, Chinese-style gowns appeared for the fashionable New Yorker. Elsewhere, trendy gentlemen were offered Mao tunics and padded peasant jackets. When the trip itself came, popular enthusiasm for China may have crested, but the government's turn had come. The officials who made the trip have returned in moods of deep and excited satisfaction, full of a sense of historic occasion. They have actually met—and liked—the elders of China's revolutionary legend. They have buried the bad past of American political paranoia. China itself has profoundly impressed them, its discipline and austerity, its social morality, the discretion, style, and intelligence of its leaders.

Mr. Nixon himself has led in this. He had insisted upon going to Peking, refusing to leave the restoration of contacts between the two countries to a diplomatic agent. In Peking, he was determined to get agreements —an exchange of newsmen, scholars, and artists; the institution of at least indirect political relations. He negotiated personally with Chou En-lai, his inferior in protocol rank. He was merely received by Mao-Tse-tung, while Mao never permitted himself to be received by the President. As the week went on, finding the Chinese unbending, Mr. Nixon negotiated until five o'clock the final morning in Peking. He was unwilling to end without a communiqué, or with one which merely noted that views had been exchanged. As a result he made concessions on Taiwan which, while they were slight in substance, were rich in significance.

They were momentous because Taiwan, like South Vietnam, South Korea, Thailand and Japan, has for a quarter-century been pushed and encouraged by the United States to maintain an intransigently uncompromising stance towards the mainland Chinese government. All of these countries have been pressed by us to make an investment in unqualified anti-Chinese and anti-Communist policies which—except for present-day Japan—they could never have sustained on their own, and which, without the American involvement, could hardly serve their own ultimate interests. Now the United States has casually and ingenuously reversed its own policy, hardly noting that its allies are there. What do they do now?

The answer is that they too reverse themselves, but in conditions of confusion and disadvantage. All but Vietnam. South Vietnam will not, it seems, be permitted by us to reverse its policy, since that would draw America into a "defeat." Toward the anxieties of all our other allies, the new American official attitude is impatient and unsympathetic. What we have done, we insist, is in the world's best interests. Our allies will have to make the best of it. We never liked them very much anyway—it now comes out. They were simply clients, importunate, sychophants. . . .

I myself think this all probably is for the world's best interests, and I feel unqualified sympathy for those Asians who unwisely chose to serve the United States and take our gifts. But it seems that I can spare them more sympathy than the United States government now is in a mood to do. They too now have become our victims, trampled in our mercurial enthusiasms, our flights of national egoism. It is not an edifying spectacle. We are as ruthless in peace as in war, a menace to our sometime friends as to our enemies. I would think that the South Vietnamese in particular might take from this episode a lesson in constancy, an example of how to deal

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with allies, an instruction in self-interest and self-preservation. They could, if they wished, end their war despite the United States. It has—as we all know—been a war to contain the influence of China, that China which Mr. Nixon now has congratulated for its hope, shared with us, "to build a new world order in which nations of peoples with different systems can live together in peace, . . . letting history rather than the battlefield be the judge. . . ."

James Finn

Excitement need not be euphoria

ANOTHER PRESIDENT might have turned our China policy 'round, but none could have done so with such little domestic turmoil, none could have drained so much of the poison from festering Sino-American relations. The fact that Richard Milhous Nixon can be given much credit for fouling the political atmosphere in which discussions concerning China took place for years should not obscure this present reality. President Nixon's impeccable cold-war, hard-line, anti-Communist credentials provided the capital on which he has now drawn heavily, for his policy is one which, if adopted by any Democratic aspirant to the Presidency in 1968, would have been attacked by Nixon's supporters with ferocious pleasure.

But the distance between eternal verities and particular policies is great indeed. Times have changed and Richard Nixon with them. By tilting toward China he has altered significantly and irreversibly the relations between the great world powers and, necessarily therefore, the conditions in which countries of lesser power will pursue their own interests. The altered relations between China and the U.S. must affect the foreign policies not only of the USSR, Japan and the countries of Western Europe, but of all countries.

The excitement that attended the President's journey to China was, then, natural and justified. The President's penchant for self-congratulatory hyperbole was equalled by the occasion. Still, excitement need not be euphoria, and now that the dinners are over and the President and the dictator have parted, some calm assessments are in order. I will bypass many inviting questions and speculations to focus on two disturbing factors on the domestic scene.

The first disturbing factor is the almost complete absence of any seriously proposed alternatives to President Nixon's foreign policies, actual and suggested. The President's dramatic action *did* surprise, *did* dominate the news, *did* meet with general approval. All this is admitted. But there are a number of articulate candidates on the hustings at present who are reiterating, or only updating cosmetically, their positions of yesteryear. Vietnam cannot be ignored, nor can economic and racial issues at home, but it remains true that, as John Kennedy said, foreign policy can kill us. The challengers to President Nixon, in the Democratic party and in his own, have been less than impressive in response to his China venture.

The second disturbing factor is the response of much of the media and particular factions of the American people. As many on the Left have argued for years, it is desirable that the U.S. regularize its relations with China. It is also well to acknowledge and build upon the mutual respect that the peoples of China and America have had for many years. And insofar as China has progressed in ways which can be emulated by others, we should be industrious in seeking them out. But to move from a position of finding nothing right with China to a position of finding nothing wrong would be foolishness of a high order. There is much evidence to suggest that modern China is far from the ideal society, that it has achieved undisputed advances at great human cost, that the human spirit—by which I mean here the desire and ability of people to be open, imaginative, searching, striving to surpass their present selves—is not completely unfettered in China.

The evils of materialism, economic injustice and exaggerated individualism are real and thriving in the Western world. We will help no one—ourselves or our shifting allies and enemies—if we overlook the great human cost which the bureaucratic Communism that is China was and is willing to bear in order to overcome these evils in that country. If we are to have, finally, good national discussions about Sino-American relations, let us have as much intellectual clarity as our current state of information allows. For we will be debating, it should be clear, the character and values of our own society.

Wilson C. McWilliams

A bill to pay?

BALLYHOO has its limits. Most Americans were gratified by any signs of Chinese good will and were relieved that the United States was again on speaking terms with "a quarter of the world's population." But they retain doubts and uneasiness, suspect they have been oversold, and wonder whether there is not a bill to pay. And so they should.

Give Mr. Nixon his due: he kept cool despite a number of more or less subtle provocations, no mean feat for a man who once gloried in trading epithets with Khrushchev. If the results of his venture into Asiatic

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summitry were predictably meager, Senator Humphrey missed the point (again predictably?) by seeing them as one-sided. The United States made most of the material concessions—a few trade commitments and the promise to withdraw our troops from Taiwan—but China sacrificed a major asset, her reputation for ideological purity. Senator Buckley is no less horrified than Maoists the world over.

There are, moreover, horrified Maoists inside China as well as in the rest of the world. Mr. Nixon saw the China trip as a means of winning domestic support; Chou may easily have seen it as a domestic loss. The apparent purge of Lin Piao reflects, in all probability, serious and enduring opposition in China to the *démarche*. Some of the discourtesies Mr. Nixon encountered may, in fact, have been an effort to assure Chou's opponents at home that the regime had not gone overboard. In fact, a risk inherent in the new policy is that China may undergo a political change of mind, just as Mr. Nixon may be defeated; the danger encourages both sides to keep their commitments minimal.

If Chou was willing to brave domestic opposition, it was because he hoped for major gains in foreign policy, presumably greater security in relation to the "social imperialists" in the Soviet Union. China's fear of Russia is clear and justifiable, but Soviet fears of China have their own basis. Our own comparative invulnerability tempts us to forget that the new Chinese missile system will extend China's nuclear threat to include all of the USSR. It is easy to see why the Chinese would seek better relations with the United States; it is also easy to recognize that the Russians would see any détente as a threat. In the high era of the Cold War, our motives would be equally comprehensible: what hurts the Russians helps us. Perhaps some such notion entered into American policy, but the Administration apparently hopes that the China policy will make the Russians more tractable, not less.

One Administration supporter recently declared that the Soviets "have taken us for granted" in relation to China, and that the Nixon-Kissinger design aims to correct this. America, like a neglected lover, will stimulate her partner's ardor by exciting his jealousy: a dubious strategy in romantic affairs, disastrous when applied, by analogy, to world politics. I have already observed in *Commonweal* that Admiral Tirpitz developed the same argument; Britain would not take Imperial Germany for granted if the latter built a fleet. The whole history of the Soviet Union suggests that she is even less amenable to such schemes than Britain was; a threat to her security makes her look to her defenses. The China policy could give new life to the flagging vitality of the Cold War.

Moreover, the Soviet Union would find ready listeners, and even active solicitors, in China's neighbors. India has already moved closer to the Soviet Union; even Taiwan has put out feelers to Communist states which are not "puppets" of Peking, certainly a broad hint to Moscow. And, of course, there is Japan, the only state approaching Great Power status in Asia. In method and substance, the Administration has administered a series of affronts and injuries to Japan; the China policy is only more recent and more extreme. Some element of retaliation is almost inevitable; if Mr. Sato continues to turn the other cheek, he will hardly remain Premier. Certainly, the Chinese have hoped for and tried to encourage—witness the gratuitous insults to Sato himself—an estrangement between America and Japan. Perhaps the Japanese will seek a closer rapport with the Soviet Union, in which case Whittle Johnston's question—"what doth it profit a man to gain China and lose Japan?"—will be in point. Perhaps Japan will simply "consult her interests" without reference to the United States, which raises the specter of an arms race in Asia. In this, as in the impact of Nixon's policy on American-Soviet relations, there are many possibilities; the dark portents are still only omens. Mr. Nixon may be able to reassure the Soviets and soothe the Japanese, but it will take some fast talking. And Mr. Nixon, alas, has never been too convincing under pressure, especially when his motives are suspect. In relation to China, the Administration's motives are at best obscure; at worst, they reflect a muddled, archaistic version of the balance of power. Small wonder if Americans, and the rest of humanity, feel a tinge of queasiness.

John Chamberlain

Assuming the worst of Nixon

THE AIR IS thick with conservative recriminations about a sell-out of the Taiwan government in the Nixon-Chou Shanghai communiqué. Bill Buckley who was tender enough with Richard Nixon before travelling with him to Peking, has reacted in dismay and disgust. And, true enough, Nixon has done something that, taken symbolically, amounts to a signal that the U.S. intends, at some still indeterminate date, to let the Nationalist Chinese shift for themselves. It has been agreed with Chou En-lai that the Taiwan issue is a domestic problem to be settled between Peking and Taipei, peacefully as Nixon hopes, though Chou didn't guarantee a thing. We have promised to withdraw troops from Taiwan "as the tension in the area decreases." Since the place is to be considered only a "province" of China anyway, as has been emphasized by Richard Nixon's final repudiation of the "two Chinas" concept, it is hardly strange that Tokyo, among other foreign capitals, is now questioning the permanence of

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our 1954 defense treaty with Chiang Kai-shek's government. Great nations do not logically make or sustain defense treaties with the province of other countries when friendship with the larger entity is being courted.

Assuming that the symbolic interpretation of what is in Nixon's mind is correct, we have indeed sold Taiwan down the river. But I wonder if everything in the conservative estimate of what happened at Peking is as clear to Richard Nixon as it is to his detractors? As Professor David Rowe, Yale University's Far Eastern authority, has pointed out, the Nixon promise to withdraw our support of Taiwan as "tension diminishes" is operationally meaningless. A month ago I visited Quemoy, the Nationalist Chinese island that keeps its unsleeping watch on the Red mainland just three miles away. The tension on the little island was under control, but it would obviously mount to an excruciating pitch if there were to be any suggestion that the U.S. was about to withdraw either its Seventh Fleet or its atomic umbrella from the East Asian offshore world. Taiwan itself will stoically accept the withdrawal of U.S. troops now present on its soil that are connected with the war in Vietnam, but if our total military mission—it amounts to 8,000 men—were to be recalled it would hardly "decrease" any tensions. Finally, there is the matter of our air support. Taiwan has only 500 planes, many of them antiques, as compared to Red China's 4,000. The continued promise of help from the aircraft carriers of the Seventh Fleet is essential if tension on Taiwan is to be held to a minimum.

The promise made to Chou En-lai, that we will withdraw from Taiwan as the tension lessens, must seem as operationally empty to Peking as it does to any rigorous Western student of semantics. For it is Peking itself that keeps the tension going. It would be quite out of character for Red China to call off its propaganda shellings of Quemoy; even as Nixon and Chou were preparing to negotiate, the artillery on the Red mainland was busily engaged in spewing messages from bursting shell cases over the Quemoy landscape proclaiming that "Nixon is coming to Peking to surrender." Professor Rowe says quite logically that if the U.S. were to pull out from Taiwan, the Maoists would take it as a signal that they were free to attack Quemoy and Matsu as stepping stones to Taiwan itself. Would this be any way to decrease tension?

So we are left with the curious sense that Richard Nixon has made a promise about Taiwan to Peking that is a nullity, a non sequitur, a cnotradiction, a self-fulfilling negation or whatever else you want to call it. The tension on Taiwan is now greater than it was before Nixon spoke about troop withdrawals if and when some placidity is restored on the two sides of Formosa Strait.

Aside from the hopes that it might help us get out of Vietnam, the justification for the Nixon "Peking turn" is that it may give Mao Tse-tung the psychological support he needs to keep Soviet Russia from making a pre-emptive attack on the Red Chinese atomic installations. In short, Nixon hopes to freeze a status quo in inner Asia. If all goes well, his diplomacy would also freeze the status quo at Formosa Strait, where the Red Chinese would hardly want to risk losing planes that are needed to keep the Russians immobile along 4,000 miles of inner Asian border.

There remains the possibility, of course, that Nixon and Kissinger have things in mind that remain unspoken, things the conservatives fear might increase the strength of Peking to the point where it would menace not only Taiwan but Japan, Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia and even Australia. The dread of the unspoken things is good reason for Bill Buckley and others to be yelling bloody murder at what Nixon has done just to keep him from doing more. Nixon's political character being what it is, the way to keep him from going really astray is to assume the worst and say so; he gives ground to those who attack him.

Maybe, by yelling "sell-out" long enough and hard enough, it will serve to restrain our unmitigatedly pragmatic President from doing what the conservatives have said he has already done to Taiwan.

Marshall R. Kaplan

Some potential benefits

PRESIDENT NIXON has skillfully seized upon the decades old love-hate feeling Americans have for China to change the direction of Sino-American relations. The Yellow Peril that Americans fear is once again rapidly being transformed into the mysterious land, the China we love. Our enchantment with China has suddenly burst forth from 23 years of imprisonment. The short-run dangers are great.

Some Americans today are only able to hear the positives about China. Many believe our national differences already are all but solved. Such euphoria can only lead to disillusionment. Meanwhile it interferes with the task of our peoples' becoming genuinely reacquainted as well as with the establishment of long-term productive relations between our two governments. The euphoria has already seriously damaged the anti-war movement in our country, with many Americans either suddenly viewing President Nixon as a man of peace in Asia or simply being distracted by the concentration upon China.

Oddly enough our myths about "Communist China" are at the same time being reinforced. The recent live

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telecasts from the People's Republic of China offered many examples. One network newscaster, standing in Hangchow in a Saturday, noted the many shoppers and strollers on the streets. He explained that as all Americans know, all Chinese work six days per week; therefore these strollers must have been released on this non-Sunday solely for the benefit of the Presidential party and the American news audience. This newsman was fostering the American belief that the Chinese are slaves of their government, always acting upon orders when in public. He was obviously unaware that the streets of China's cities are filled with shoppers seven days per week, that workers have regular days off which are staggered rather than on a Sabbath as in the Judeo-Christian West. What he probably saw was a perfectly normal Saturday.

Becoming genuinely reacquainted, delving below the illusions, may have many benefits. While the international implications are often raised, I prefer to discuss some seldom considered potential benefits for the United States.

Health care quality in the United States is uneven due primarily to both the high cost and the doctor shortage. The Chinese have been experimenting with a decentralized health care system that emphasizes paramedical personnel (the "barefoot doctors"). Under their system a commune of perhaps 40,000 persons will have one hospital fully equipped and staffed to care for all but the rarest of problems. Each brigade (a commune subdivision of 2-3000 people) will have one medical center with a pharmacy, hospital beds, diagnostic equipment and simple operating facilities. One doctor may be shared by two to four brigades. Full-time brigade personnell will include persons equivalent in training to our nurses. They are permitted to treat many of the more common ailments. The brigade in turn is subdivided into about ten work teams of several hundred persons each. Assigned to each work team are several barefoot doctors, paraprofessionals with perhaps three months' training plus on-the-job supervision and refresher training. These paraprofessionals treat common ailments such as colds, flu and diarrhea, attend normal births, handle birth control, pre-natal care and public health problems. They continue to work at their regular jobs, devoting whatever time is necessary, perhaps one-third of their work time, to medical duties. Such a system is capable of bringing adequate medical care to every Chinese, while relieving the doctor of the pressure of having to treat every case of mumps or morning sickness. We surely ought to investigate some of these Chinese methods in our fight for more adequate medical care.

Close examination of the Chinese educational system also may prove of interest, for both peoples are concentrating upon similar problems. For example in both societies young children of school age are encouraged to clean up when finished with their work, but in China such cleanup is put into a context of social responsibility—one has no right to leave refuse for others to dispose of. Chinese and American youngsters both plant gardens at school to learn about the phenomenon of growth, but in China the teacher simultaneously emphasizes that work with one's hands is good, something to be proud of. This attempt to integrate work, play and social responsibility into their educational approach may help to explain why the Chinese do not seem to be burdened with the narcissistic irresponsibility so rampant among American youth today. China's new college enrollment system, selection through one's work unit, is an experimental attempt at solving the complex issues of equal opportunity for all, as is the open enrollment program now being tested in the New York City college system. And the current Chinese emphasis upon combining theory and practice in education is partially addressed to the same feeling of irrelevance in education that has been central to student rebellions on our campuses over the past five years. Like us the Chinese have not found final answers, but we should be studying their experiences.

Harold C. Hinton

The U.S. as paper-tiger

By now it should be abundantly clear that on both sides of the negotiating table politics have been, in a favorite Chinese Communist phrase, in command. Each side has ballyhooed the Nixon visit to China for domestic consumption, Nixon because he wants to be sure of being re-elected, Chou En-lai because he wants to reinforce his reputation as the indispensable statesman not only for external advantage but in order to maximize his leverage on China's intractable domestic situation, the political power of regional military leaders in particular.

But beyond that, what of the visit as a genuine exercise in summitry? The perilous aspects of this game statesmen play have been well set forth by George Ball and need not be repeated here. He has rightly described the visit as a case of diplomatic overkill, in the sense that the issues could have been negotiated—as they will be in the future—with equal or greater effectiveness at a lower level, or by Nixon and Chou in some neutral corner (say Rawalpindi).

The United States gained nothing observable from the talks, beyond the possibly important intangible of an improvement in the atmospherics of its relationship with Peking after two decades of excessive hostility on

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both sides. In the process of registering this improvement, the United States displayed its increasingly paper-tiger nature by stressing (in the communiqué) its obsessive concern wtih peace, stability and "communication" among nations as ultimate goods to be pursued, by implication, at virtually any cost. The Chinese side, on the other hand, made it clear that it still regarded the cause of popular revolution and national equality (in particular, political equality between itself and the two "superpowers") as greater goods than peace *per se*. American leaders, American intellectuals and the American public may cry peace, peace, but they may not get it.

The United States got nothing observable on Vietnam, its major external preoccupation, beyond an increase of nervous irritability in Hanoi that has probably thrown some additional strain on the troubled relationship between China and North Vietnam. There was never any chance, on either side, of a swap of American protection of Taiwan for Chinese support for Hanoi. Peking had already gotten what it wanted most on Indochina, a genuine and ultimately complete American "winding down" of the war (barring Vietnamization). On Taiwan, an issue of greater intrinsic importance to Peking than Vietnam, the United States got nothing beyond a vague Chinese indication of probable non-use of force and went rather far toward conceding (as it should) Peking's point that Taiwan is a part of China and not an area of "undetermined" status as Washington has been insisting for the past two decades. The United States said that it would ultimately withdraw all its forces (consisting at present of 8,000 essentially noncombat personnel) from Taiwan but will keep 2,000 of them there for a time as a source of leverage on Peking to be reasonable about Taiwan and Indochina. The idea of this colonel's guard as an effective source of leverage on Peking where its vital interests are concerned strikes me as one of the funniest to surface since the retirement of Groucho Marx.

If one defines a superpower in a common-sense fashion, as a power that has not only the ability but the willingness to make a bloody nuisance of itself anywhere in the world, the Soviet Union is rapidly improving its claim to the title while the United States progressively abdicates its own. The United States can temporarily enjoy the luxury of a sense of comparative relaxation on this score, however, since it is the Chinese and not the American border along which the Soviet Union has recently stationed some 40 heavily-armed divisions, and it is China more than the United States that currently forms the main target of the posture of global *machismo* that the Soviet Union has adopted since about 1966. This is the main single external reason, although a largely unacknowledged one, why Peking has initiated its opening to the United States, in the hope of creating, not a state of actual military deterrence, but a political relationship that will serve as an effective restraint on any possible Soviet tendency to progress from competition and attempted containment to rollback where China is concerned.

The United States also hopes to get some anti-Soviet mileage from its opening to Peking, in the sense of more reasonable Soviet behavior regarding the strategic-weapons race, the Middle East, Central Europe, etc. The fact that the Sino-Soviet relationship is currently the most embittered of the relationships among the Big Three (Peking calls it irreconcilable) has enabled the United States to benefit more obviously than China to date from a tendency toward improved Soviet behavior. But the Nixon visit must at least have given the hawks among the Soviet leadership the uncomfortable feeling that an attack on China would be the most widely televised military operation since the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

The international significance of the Nixon visit to China, then, while not negligible, includes little that could not have been achieved, and perhaps more effectively, in other, less spectacular, ways. From the American standpoint, probably the most important consideration is whether the visit contributed importantly to the President's re-election, and if so, then, to the view that one takes of the prospect of four more years of Richard Nixon.

Nicholas R. Clifford

Up from the depths of hell

THE REPUBLICANS see the trip as a transcendent act of statesmanship; the Democrats see an election year gambit on the eve of the first primaries; the left sees it as a meaningless diversion from the country's real ills. Such reactions share a common ground, and that is the assumption that this was an American show, a Nixon show, which must be seen and explained in terms of Mr. Nixon's policy. Surely the trip is all of these things and more, and surely Mr. Nixon must be credited with a variety of moves since 1968 to make the détente possible: the withdrawal of the old Taiwan Straits patrol, the easing of trade and travel restrictions for Americans, and the use of the term People's Republic of China to replace references to Red China or mainland China in official pronouncements. These are significant compromises, and they mean that the religion of official Americanism, in defiance of orthodox theology, has allowed China to rise from the nether depths of Hell (to which she was cast twenty-three years ago) to reach at least the base of the Mount of Purgatory.

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It takes two to make a summit meeting, however, and it is parochial of us to see only the American and Nixonian side of the trip. If we have compromised the view bequeathed to us by the forties and fifties, so too have the Chinese, equally passionate believers in their own way in the cold war. Four or five years ago, at the height of the Cultural Revolution, Chinese foreign policy was in serious disarray. Today, however, the Revolution is over, the revolutionary purity of the late sixties has been abandoned, and the result has been a stunning series of diplomatic successes. It began with the recognition of Canada in October 1970, when China agreed to a new formula on the Taiwan question, extended through the admission to the U.N. last fall, when China tacitly abandoned certain of the conditions that Foreign Minister Ch'en Yi had set for U.N. entry, and continued right up to Mr. Nixon's journey. There was, of course, one severe defeat (in the Indo-Pakistani war last year), but this was a single setback in an impressive series of victories.

I bring this up because we have heard much in the last few years from China scholars about Mao's romanticism, and his flight from pragmatism and reality. The aging leader harks back to the great days of the thirties and forties, when he built a kingdom of the saints in Yenan, and today he seeks to extend to the whole country the Yenan principles of austerity, self-reliance, purity and absolute dedication. True enough, but in reading Mao's writings of the Yenan period one is continually struck by the man's enormous flexibility. Left deviation, which could mean too uncompromising a revolutionary position, was brought up short, as was right opportunism. It may be argued that flexibility is not compromise, and that the Chinese have given away nothing of substance. The point is that by whatever name one calls it, the new policy has paid off handsomely.

After the Shanghai communiqué, what is there to talk about? I would be surprised at any great leap forward in Sino-American trade. Communism has, it seems to me, only increased what was already a venerable Chinese tradition of economic self-sufficiency, and of using foreign trade largely for political purposes. Cultural exchanges can be easily arranged now, and can be meaningless; how long will it be before we get beyond the ping-pong teams and guided tours, and both send and receive scholars, who can study the two societies in such a way as to find answers to our China question and their American question? Peking has never yet given Western scholars the sort of access to sources which is customary elsewhere; yet if there is really to be a mutual *understanding*, this kind of attitude will be essential. American journalists will be freer to go to China, and perhaps the powers that be will cooperate by sending men who know something of the country (a knowledge sadly lacking in most of the TV commentators broadcasting from Peking. How much better if Ross Terrill and Donald Klein had been on the spot rather than in New York!)

And there is Taiwan, the great stumbling block, as the communiqué admits. The Chinese gave nothing in public (perhaps a renunciation of force in private?) while the U.S. echoed what had been said earlier: that the Taiwan problem is one for the Chinese to solve. Does this exclude the possibility of self-determination for the people of the island? I am afraid that it does, but I hope that we will do what we can to assure that the Taiwanese for once will be at least consulted in the plans made for their future.

Finally, Vietnam. Hanoi is worried (as is Pyongyang). Perhaps the Chinese no longer see a problem there. Vietnamization and the continuation of bombing is less of a threat to them than was the presence of half a million American troops. But the Peking meeting apparently solved nothing here. We Americans continue to be responsible for the horrors which take place daily on that peninsula, and while we can all rejoice in the apparent success of the summit, we must not forget what is still happening in Indochina. Maybe it is no longer Mao's problem; it certainly remains ours.

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THE DEMOCRATIC FREE-FOR-ALL

The Line-Up

TOM REED

Richard Nixon has returned in remarkably good spirits from his Asian Canossa, although it is doubtful that mah jong will displace professional football as his favorite sport. Mr. Nixon seems pleased enough about his visit to the People's Republic of China to be tempted to move his West Coast White House from San Clemente to a resort on the South China Sea. It certainly would please John G. Schmitz, the John Bircher in whose Congressional district San Clemente is located. He has signed on as a supporter of his colleague, Representative Ashbrook of Ohio, who is conducting a symbolic right-wing challenge to the President's renomination for a second term.

The President's overture to China has (a) left Democratic Presidential candidates subdued and grudgingly admiring and (b) turned the press around—at least, temporarily. Press coverage of a Nixon undertaking has never been so uniformly favorable. "The Eastern Press," hate-symbol of the President, has editorially supported the undertaking. So has Joseph Kraft, who aspires to succeed Walter Lippmann as the grand dispenser of columnar wisdom. Even the wits and wags in Washington have not been able to generate their customary sardonic observations.

The trip to the Chinese mainland need not have been a surprise to Democratic politicians. Actually, Nixon announced his intentions on Page 148 of Theodore White's "The Making of the President—1968": ". . . he (Nixon) said that if he were elected, the very first thing he'd do would be to try to get in touch with Red China. There had to be an understanding with Red China. In ten or fifteen years it would be impossible to run the world if Red China weren't part of it."

Of course, Richard Nixon did visit China before he successfully has fulfilled another more publicized intention—to end the war in Indochina wherein nearly 15,000 American servicemen have been killed since he became President three years ago. Nevertheless, the Kissinger Administration, in a Presidential year, is using the China trip as a springboard for a political version of "The Great Leap Forward." In early March, the State Department, in its Orwellian fashion, characterized hostility between China and the United States during the last 25 years as an "aberration." Republican cadres, reading the polls, suggest with justifiable reasons that Nixon's prospects for re-election have been enhanced. In addition, there is a feeling among foreign-policy watchers that the President may obtain meaningful agreements from his scheduled visit in May to the Soviet Union.

A Nixon victory at the general election is not a certainty, of course. Domestic issues carry more weight with most voters and jobs are scarce, prices are high, the health-delivery system is grossly deficient, and urban areas are broke. And, after all, there is really no "old Nixon," or "new Nixon," but the same Nixon, who has a propensity for snatching defeat from the jaws of victory as occurred at the 1960 Presidential election and the 1962 California gubernatorial election. And Election Day, 1968, came none too soon for Richard Nixon, who scarcely survived a shift of several million votes that were leaning Republican in late September and then moved Democratic in November. Ah, Democrats are telling themselves wistfully, Dick Nixon may do it again. Indeed, the way things are going for the Democrats that may be the only way the Democratic party nominee will win the Presidency this fall.

The number of Democrats seeking the nomination is unproductive and the voters seem already numbed by the campaign. At last count, there are 13 Presidential candidates. Not a superstar among them. No psychodrama is being enacted so far this year. No great issues are being pressed to date. No combative Truman whistle-stopping; no thoughtful Stevenson; no picture-book Kennedy promising to get the country moving again; no able, but star-crossed Johnson. Nobody is moving the country—except occasionally in reverse as witness Congressional bullying of welfare mothers and attempts to re-segregate non-white school children under the guise of providing in place "quality education."

For the most part the candidates aren't scratching where the country itches. They may never. The Democratic candidates on the board are mostly decent, capable individuals who, whatever their diverse political tendencies, have individual records of legislative accomplishments. But, at this point, there are no classical leaders stepping forward to guide the political craft during this transitional period between the ebbing of the 40-year-old New Deal tide and the new currents forming out there somewhere.

Instead, Muskie, christened by the press as the "front-runner," is auditioning for the role of Abraham Lincoln. But, as George Bernard Shaw once wrote, canonization should follow death, not precede it. There are days when, if Muskie were asked if he were from Maine, he would

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answer "Maybe." *The Wall Street Journal* published on page one in its March 3 issue a quip about Muskie —"you can only straddle so long before you get a hernia."

There are reliable indications that, in fact, Muskie is the second-choice of a substantial number of Democrats who profess to support his candidacy. In their heart of hearts, these Democrats have a basic attachment to another candidate, whom, correctly or not, they feel obliged to discount—e.g., Senator Humphrey (he's had his chance), Senator McGovern (fine, but he's not pulling enough support), Senator Kennedy (he's not a candidate, but wish he were), etc.

Consciously or otherwise, the Muskie strategy is to convert this second-choice element, normally a weakness, into a strength. Muskie, goes the logic, arouses fewer discordant passions which, in turn, will avoid a convention row and enable the party to spend its energies on the business of ousting Richard Nixon. This is a plausible argumention to which Democratic party leaders at state and local levels, bruised by even the recollection of the Chicago convention confrontation four years ago, are responding in large numbers. But this does not obscure the "soft" condition of the Muskie candidacy. Vagueness is not statesmanship, whatever its advantage in day-to-day politics, and statesmanship is supposed to be a Muskie forte. The press was beginning to sense this on the eve of the New Hampshire Presidential preference primary. There are more than 20 other preference primaries ahead and, as is its wont, the press, having spent months lending itself to a build-up of a Lincolnesque Muskie is now poised to turn on him should he stumble a couple of times along the way—or cry in public once more.

On the other hand, Senator McGovern of South Dakota is working handsomely at the cutting edge of the public issues. But, here again, the press, imposing a frame-of-reference between candidate and voters, has seemingly convinced many Democrats that he "can't win." Compounding this is a continued insistence by voters that political polling results are predictive, instead of being, at most, a tentative statement at one point in time of a few hundred Americans who *say* they will vote on primary and general election days.

Custodial liberals have apportioned their support between Senators Jackson of Washington, an unreconstructed Cold-War warrior, and Humphrey. Minnesota Chats, however, is saying a daily dozen of "mea culpas" in respect to his past support of the American military horror in Vietnam and, contrary to political table-talk, is attracting young people to his campaign.

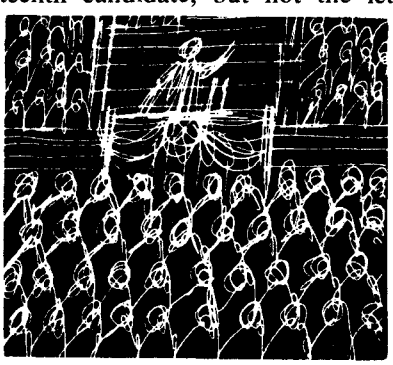
Then there is Mayor Lindsay of New York City. Politicians in the states having early primaries are wary of pronouncing a firm judgment on his candidacy. They see a potential for substantial support, and not necessarily at McGovern's expense as the conventional wisdom has it. At present, Lindsay's strength grows in direct proportion to the distance away from New York City (and Albany).

As for Mayor Yorty of Los Angeles and Senator Hartke of Indiana, their candidacies remind one of Samuel Johnson's remark when told about a piece of bad news: "I take refuge in incredulity." The two men, at best, are, in the street-phrase, "ego-tripping."

Representatives Patsy Mink of Hawaii and Shirley Chisholm of Brooklyn, ex-Governor Terry Sanford of North Carolina and Eugene McCarthy have constructive constituencies but insufficient as to numbers.

Governor Wallace of Alabama may be a spoiler. He secured 43 percent of the Presidential vote in the 1964 Maryland primary and may do reasonably well in such border states as well as in his natural regional habitat.

The thirteenth candidate, but not the least, is Rep.



Wilbur Mills of Arkansas, chairman of one of the four most powerful Congressional committees, Ways and Means. "Why does Mills want to make the race," commented a colleague of his, "when he already runs the country from up here on the (Capitol) Hill?" A response is that, Mills as a successor to the late Senator Russell of Georgia, wishes to enter the convention with a few chits to be employed to keep the Democratic party rightward. The most fascinating aspect of Mills' candidacy—and one with a lesson for future campaigns—is that his campaign in New Hampshire was a well-financed, *all-media* one. The candidate did not campaign there in person—brochures, handbills and radio and television spots.

At times, it appears to be a race as to whether the candidates themselves or their money will be exhausted first, as they fly from state-to-state in grueling pursuit of convention delegate support. The situation speaks in favor of instituting a national primary held on one day in each of the 50 states. But this year, the system demands that primary victories be accumulated as "chits" to be played within the more decisive atmosphere of the nominating convention—within which the spirit of Edward Kennedy will be present, and, some hope, will prevail in the form of his nomination. Although a street-scene reminiscent of the Chicago convention is improbable, there may be a "Chicago" atmosphere inside the convention hall at Miami Beach during the week of July 10, despite the frantic efforts of Lawrence O'Brien,

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the national party chairman, to "regularize" the proceedings.

One factor here is an ambivalent attitude of national party leaders toward the reform rules recently adopted in an effort to insure more representative convention delegates and a fairer functioning of the convention itself. The Democratic National Committee's attitude toward reform is flawless on the surface but beneath there is an attitude toward reform of "some, but not too much." Within the states, some party officials are acting in good faith in undertaking to implement the new rules; other leaders are trying to do business as usual in the political closets.

In 1968, an estimated 40 percent of the delegates were directly elected; this year, the estimate is 60 percent. Nevertheless, party reformers are going to be busily challenging delegates they believe not chosen in accord with the new rules, brought about by the recommendations of the party's McGovern Commission. Unfortunately, they are going to discover their expectations exceed the consequences of the newly instituted intra-party reforms. In addition, there may be an element of irony awaiting reformers at the convention. The delegate-selection and convention-nominating processes will have become more representative and equitable. But this may work against the nomination of a candidate suitable to the reforms. The irony lies in that those who are emphasizing equity in the process may find that the resulting diversity that is emerging, including proliferation of candidates, may fragment their power and influence and give the day to those who have always preferred power to fairness and know how to act on this preference. Anyway, the full force and effect of the reforms may not be felt until the 1976 convention. Correspondingly, the "New Politics," which is not substance but technology, offers in the form of cable television new avenues for populist opinion to make itself be felt. But not this year.

Nor is it sufficient to reform only the delegate/convention process. The corrupting equation of money-and-politics persists, in spite of useful legislation approved recently by the Congress to cleanse the process. Campaign money follows political power and these are the main supports for the tyranny of the incumbency, which benefits those in residence whether in the White House, the Congress or local governing bodies.

Consequently, the four months until convention time will be a difficult one for voters. The political panoply of pomp and power—mostly the latter—will unfold under the direction of political choreographers and medicine men, the mercenaries of campaigns. They, in company with B. F. Skinner, the psychologist, believe there is only behavior, not human character, to measure and to manipulate. Therein is their weakness and therein is the hope that we common folks will penetrate the candidates' disguises and vote accordingly.

The First Scrimmage

MICHAEL NOVAK

The highway from New York to New Hampshire broadens at the Massachusetts border; it becomes bumpier, too, built (one suspects) with dishonest materials and methods. Three days before the first primary of 1972, the bellying leaden sky is heavy with snow.

Speeding into Nashua, just before dusk, my front wheel rams into a pot-hole; the entire metal frame trembles: metaphor for Ed Muskie's progress. I meet an acquaintance at the first electoral office I see. "The undecideds are beginning to come back," he smiles. Don Beskind worked for Joe Duffey in Connecticut. He thinks the media exaggerate the "surge" toward McGovern in the last seven days. Young people in the Muskie office are noisy and busy, in and out. (They do their work well. Election eve, Nashua—full of new voters pushing northward from Boston—gives Muskie a last boost away from McGovern. Nashuans read different papers than people read in Manchester.)

At Yorty's HQ around the corner, a long table runs silently toward the rear. I walk the distance. A solitary, fiftyish woman practically begs me to come to a dinner the next night. "Only five dollars," her quiet words echo.

Just before darkness falls, Manchester, "the Queen City," looms ahead: poorer, uglier, more dense than I expect. Towering red brick—rickety-rackety, dark, odorous—shoe plants and textile factories, the 19th-century's contribution to urban deterioration and cosmic pollution. Before the Brahmins developed moral outrage concerning the sources of their wealth.

The twisting streets are silent. Is there a primary on?

Parking my car, I feel my blood race. Americans are fully alive when politics is in the air? A full four years of waiting, a lifetime maybe, as if I'm at last doing what I want most to do, some secret source of dreams concentrated here.

New Hampshire, in its wisdom, seems indifferent.

* * *

Sunday, the full metaphor is borne in upon me. The look in the faces of local people as they watch assistants, staffs, experts, television crews, journalists, photographers, technicians, sound men, truckers, announcers, archivists, advance men, candidates descend upon them —representatives of another culture, creatures of another reality, participants in another story—is the look I once

MICHAEL NOVAK *is the author of several books, most recently,* Ascent of the Mountain, Flight of the Dove *and* All the Catholic People.

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saw on faces in Vietnam, when Americans, civilians or military, descended upon villages. Silent. Taciturn. Polite. Hospitable. Resentment out of sight. Extremely (with wisdom) private.

Local people want America back. They have long held a fraction of their souls apart, tolerating (even desiring) highways, radios, twenty-inch television sets in bands of color. But not really trusting. Not trusting Hollywood, nor Wall Street, nor General Motors, nor universities, nor the new electronic media and the strange children they educate.

Like the people of the Third World, they want and do not want. As Raymond Pannikar says for poorer nations: ". . . give us education, but not according to your patterns; the blessings of technique, but not technology; the power of science, but not scientism; wealth, but not superfluities; universities, but not according to your model." The local peoples of America want modernization, which they do not mistake for moral progress.

On that rock, the representatives of the modern media falter—and Muskie with them. The theme is "trust." But how can any sane person trust the forces of modernity? "Frontrunner" is necessarily more suspect.

Muskie lacks the edges, roughnesses, resistances: too smooth, too fashioned, part of the world of the cool media. His quiet, steady ways are not "show biz"—when he wears his trousers high, over the slight paunch the years have deposited, suspenders across his wrinkled shirt, he looks the harmless, bright-eyed Polish uncle. The very harmlessness makes him seem controlled by others.

No mistaking the hardness, the ambition, the volcano of emotion within. When the liberal media choose an ethnic slur they are discreet: "ruthless" is the codeword for Irish, "coarseness" for Agnew's Greek, "anger and instability" for what lurks beneath Polish placidity. Muskie telephone-canvassers in Manchester reported many respondents profoundly resentful of his public tears in front of the *Union Leader's* offices.

It was in the Irish wards of Manchester that McGovern ran best against him: are a man's tears in public—not suppressed behind wit and irony—understood differently by nativist Americans and Irishmen, as opposed, say, to Poles, Italians, Greeks, Armenians, Spaniards, Puerto Ricans? In some cultures, men cry. In America, running for President, it is better to be Marlon Brando cool—or, as *The New Republic* commended, to mind the manners of Roosevelts.

Seventeen points Muskie dropped in a single week, after a single incident. McGovern forces minimize it. Journalists point out all the other things happening. But the signals at the Muskie camp point to a date, an hour, a single dramatic moment.

George McGovern rode into New Hampshire on the back of an ancient WASP ethic, brought up to date. When transcendence dies in theology, it lives again in politics. The vehicle of the new piety, the new moral activism, the new salvation is political reform. Its moral coin is "issues." Its "commitment," "courage" and "involvement" require the replacement of the outmoded by the new.

Which is ironic. Because the movement of moral purity is the very catalyst, precipitant, of the "crises" its "prophets" periodically discover with alarm. What got us *into* Vietnam is the excess of moral zeal (a blindness to the slow momentum and complexities of power) discernible now in those who would get us *out*.

The evangelical WASP energy, that distilled fanaticism uncontainable in the old world, was evident again in New Hampshire. The WASPs have long set the moral standards the Irish, French-Canadians, Italians and others of New Hampshire must meet. In books it may say that politics is about power. But in New Hampshire, it appears, politics is about moral purity.

Jules Witcover has described the blue billboards put up by that all-American paragon of rectitude in 1968: ROMNEY FIGHTS DECAY. Like a toothpaste.

And in 1972 McGovern announced: RIGHT FROM THE START, while Muskie bumper stickers exploded in purple upon blue: TRUST MUSKIE! BELIEVE IN MUSKIE.

You would think that everyone in New Hampshire—the Irish, the Italians, the French-Canadians, the Armenians and the others—had become Yankees after all. The old flinty itch for rectitude invades the skin of all: the heat of the melting pot makes its organisms multiply. *NOT*: "I know well the ways of power," "I will rule," "I will govern"—*BUT*: "I am morally pure: all ye who hunger, come to me."

* * *

Blessedly, New Hampshire also hides its soul. Six inches of snow Saturday night turn the forests into medieval friezes, arches, canopies, vaults, fantasies. When the still air is stirred (in the rushing wind behind the press bus) inch-high chunks fall silently from the branches, bury themselves in the undisturbed, unobserved drifts beneath.

It is so silent, so breathtaking, so huge, so uninhabited as the bus roars along the slick black streak of highway from Manchester to Durham towards "the great debate." Overpopulation? Someone is kidding. Crises? Destruction of the entire planet? Dangers do not emanate from local cultures like New Hampshire.

"It's so untypical," the New Yorkers and Washingtonians say. But it isn't. It is different, unique, but it is also like those scores of other kinds of local culture in this most diverse of cultures: Italian neighborhoods, Puerto Rican blocks, rural redneck lanes outside of Macon, strips of town along Arizona highways, hollows just outside of Nashville, Scandinavian farming com-

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munities near Brainerd. Local people. Local realities.

They endure the invasion of the national media people. The national culture. The national power. How much longer?

McGovern, for example, is touring factories, but his furrowed brow and telephone calls and quickly taped interviews show that the center of electoral reality is not the solitary workers he meets around their confining, noisy, odorous machines. It is that larger world of television and radio and newspapers—not paid too much attention to by the local folks.

* * *

The televised debates? McGovern, says the Boston *Globe* (correctly), seems to be addressing the national network people, while Muskie addresses the people of New Hampshire. (It is, also, the year of the rat.) Yorty's campaign song was composed when his career was young: "Praise the Lord, pass the ammunition." Hartke: heart-key. Inconclusive, the press says. Dull. (So much for the cry that debate will produce an informed citizenry: "the issues.")

Never mind, the debates are on public television. And local-culture people don't watch public television. The turf of the national-culture people.

In the final results, McGovern does smashingly well. Someone should check the working-class wards in which he ran well, as the University of Michigan teams checked the McCarthy vote of 1968. What transpired? It could be big. But it could be, as in 1968, an expression of right-wing, even hawkish, sentiment, nourished this time by Mr. Loeb's daily destruction of Muskie's reputation. . . . And, meanwhile, someone else would win smashingly in Florida. And someone else in Wisconsin.

In New Hampshire, McGovern attacks Muskie as untrustworthy because he won't reveal his contributors. And Muskie attacks the credibility of McGovern's published lists. The one great issue the Democrats have against Nixon they squander by eroding public trust in each other. In the name of halting the rapid spread of cynicism.

Thus America's national moralism leads to cynicism. Perhaps in cynicism will be born a hardened, unassailable capacity to endure. Not front-runner but long-distance runner is the metaphor for what we need.

BOOKS

From Rochester to the Renaissance

The Passion of Fulton Sheen

D. P. NOONAN

Dodd, Mead, $6.95

HENRY A. ATWELL

"Wednesday's child is a child of woe," says an old rhyme.

Fulton J. Sheen, now an archbishop, retired but still the world's best known Catholic prelate, was born on a Wednesday, May 8, 1895.

One of his former assistants, Irish-born Father Daniel P. Noonan, has attempted in a sad little book to prove the adage came true for Sheen chiefly because of Cardinal Spellman and the diocese of Rochester.

The author introduces himself as a tuberculosis-weakened young priest, on his way to the missions in Brazil, who dared ask an audience with Sheen in 1959 to settle doubts about his vocation. Sheen gave him a fifteen minute "dramatic spiritual discourse" and an autographed copy of one of his books and then sent the young priest on his way with a blessing, "Bye, now, and God love you."

Noonan went to Brazil and promptly fell ill again.

Quite by chance, Sheen happened by, visited the bed-ridden young missionary, autographed another book for him and blessed him again. Noonan was shipped back home, recovered, came back to the United States, again met Sheen who offered Noonan a job.

Noonan thus had a chance to see the noted prelate in his day-to-day humanity, not just as millions of others could see him only on television. And that's the story Noonan tries to tell. It's not a pretty story. He parades a series of what probably are all facts. But the truth about Sheen never quite comes through. Maybe we'll eventually have to have as many books about him as by him to discover "the real Bishop Sheen."

Sheen, according to Noonan, is "a consummate egocentric" and his two chief woes—Spellman and Rochester—frustrated that ego.

Sheen said in a television interview, soon after he gave up Rochester, that he could have gone much higher in the church but then added, "I wouldn't pay the price." Noonan says "the price" was for Sheen to admit to a Spellman lie and Sheen wouldn't do that.

Spellman, says Noonan, was given vast stores of free surplus U.S. food after World War II which he in turn gave to Sheen for distribution at mission outposts and then tried to collect from Sheen the price he claimed he had to pay. The two took their case to Rome where Sheen by a simple phone call to Washington caught the New York Cardinal way off base. But Vati-

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can tradition required that ranks be kept in order, so Sheen never had a chance to score anyway.

And that set the stage for Sheen's exile to Rochester—to sidetrack him from New York and the possibility of his being even the first American pope.

The chapter on Sheen's brief stay in Rochester is accurate enough. The master artist of the television technique never really did get through very clear to either the Catholics or the general community in Rochester. They turned him off in real life quite as easily as they'd flick off a wearisome television program. Sheen sensed this and, egocentric or not, he asked Pope Paul for out and for another bishop to be appointed to replace him.

Noonan vastly overplays all this, however, by calling Rochester Sheen's "calvary" and implying by the very title of the book that Sheen had to endure a "passion" there as if he were

Poetry to the People

JOHN HEIDENRY

A number of years ago some literary celebrities were asked in a survey whether they thought that Bob Dylan might possibly be the best American poet. This was in the last days of the Beats and first of rock, and college students, tiring of Wallace Stevens, were learning that things indeed are changed upon the blue guitar. I do not recall any other answer except W. H. Auden's, which was brief: that he had never heard of the artist in question. Presumably in the meantime he has. In some surreal and inevitable moment, some jingle-jangle wee hour of morning, they may even have shared billing on the same campus stage: joined harmonics and harmonics, strummed out some plightful version of "Musée des Beaux Arts" to the tune of "Just Like a Woman." Just like it was a long time ago, with the lyric and the lyre, or in the days of the troubadours. Certainly, in any case, as Kenneth Rexroth has pointed out, poetry is getting back to its origins. If there is indeed something tribal about poetry, in however civilized a way, then spread the word by drum.

America is, of course, by one definition or another, made up of folk-groups that could qualify as tribes. At the bottom of the anthropological heap are the Indians, and then come the imported slaves from Africa. The poor settlers formed the third basic unit of the folk, and none but the most effete of snobs could deny that the poetry that rose up from the suffering of these people is among the greatest that this nation possesses. "The hopelessly stuck would find it expensive but worth it," suggests Jacques Barzun to artists whose muse is absent, "to hire a gunman to pound on the door and threaten death as a spur to composition. Ideas would come thick and fast and yet be sorted out with wonderful clarity in that final message to one's literary executors." It was this kind of prompting that delivered some of the great folk art of the nation. The chants, spirituals, gospel songs, mountain ballads, work songs, sea chanties, blues, were written, at first literally, and later virtually, at the barrel end of a gun, beneath the whip, under the heel of an oppressor. Bittersweet was happy enough, and even the most joyful songs were characteristic of a people that had survived the most awful pathos and despair.

It would be interesting to trace the history of how the song-poetry of the folk became more and more a segregated part of the culture, and the literary poetry of the poets became mainstream and dominant. Surely America had a unique if puzzling opportunity to make poetry once again the voice of a people. It lost that chance and its artists have been cursing their luck ever since. The great American epics have all been folk epics, and Thomas Wolfe who, though he did not come closest, at least tried hardest, to write the great American novel, went into deliriums at the mere possibilities of history in the place names of rivers and towns. But there was too much nineteenth-century European influence, cities grew up too fast, chairs of poetry were established in universities, the intellection of E. A. Poe was more sophisticated than the grassy inventories of some hobo named Whitman.

Despite such and all, the folk tradition continued in the outlands and the ghettos, if for no other reason than that oppression did. More important, however, is the fact that folklore American, though it has often been exploited, as either myth or fad, seems recently to be rediscovered on an authentic basis. It is no longer campfire entertainment for Boy Scouts who grow up to live in suburbs where the buffaloes never roam. A kind of neo-folk has evolved among the middle-class who, if not oppressed by social evils, protest them. They have their antecedents in people like Woody Guthrie, Jack Elliott, early Carl Sandburg (who later may have started the commercial folk-myth business with such books as *The People, Yes* and *Good Morning, America*, and his biography of Lincoln), Huddy Ledbetter, and hundreds of others too numerous to mention. Performers, poets, balladeers have increasingly the same notions, not just of what to say, but how: Allen Ginsberg, Leonard Cohen, Judy Collins, Philip Whalen, Gary Snyder, Pete Seeger, Bob Dylan. I would even add John Cash and not a few who sing country and blues, white and black.

In a recent book, *Folklore on the*

JOHN HEIDENRY *lives precariously as a free-lance writer. His most recent appearance is in Harlan Ellison's science-fiction anthology* Again—Dangerous Visions.

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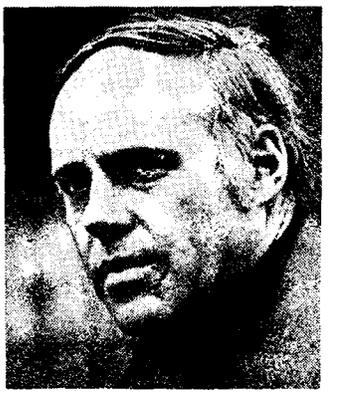
some kind of Yankee Jesus with piercing eyes.

There are others besides Father Noonan who've seen Sheen day-to-day too. They tell of a man of hour-long prayer before Mass, impetuous generosity, a desire to right all wrongs, a man of intense loyalty to the Catholic

American Land (Little, Brown, $15), Professor Duncan Emrich has defined folklore as "all the traditional knowledge and way of life of our people passed on informally from generation to generation." Later he adds: "To the extent that we acquire traditional knowledge and way of life in the hand-me-down manner in which folklore is transmitted, and also believe it, to that extent we are . . . members of the folk." Emrich's book is meant to be an introduction and he has therefore provided folk examples not only of song and ballad, but of place names, proverbs, cattle brands, hound dog names, riddles and games, legends, street cries, weather lore, medicine lore, tall tales, epitaphs, and all the other things that you will never find in an anthology of American literature edited by a city slicker. Emrich's patriotism sometimes gets in the way, and his song selection lacks depth; he has categorically not specified the regional origin of most of his entries, nor labeled them black, white, or immigrant. Finally, he has offered practically nothing of the Indian heritage. A final qualification is that the book is not inexpensive. Still it is one of the best introductions available, though a true introduction to the American folklore would take volumes and could never really be encompassed in books, for the art of the folk is something alive and always being handed down anew. That is about the best kind of poetic justice there is. It would be nice to suppose some eventual Republic where poets are not banished, because they are the population. Long live the highbrows and Wallace Stevens, but power—and poetry—to the people.

Invite Malcolm Boyd to Your Church



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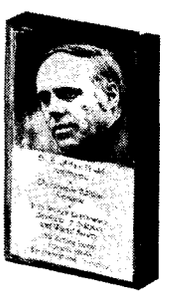

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church, for whose cause he has both collected and personally given literally millions of dollars.

His television appearances certainly changed the attitudes of millions of Americans from hostility against Catholicism to at least a tolerance if not a respect for it—and paved the way for John F. Kennedy to take down the notice on the White House, "No Catholics need apply."

Sheen once spoke about "the last remnant of the Catholic ghetto." Perhaps that's what he is. Rigidly orthodox in faith, pious as a peasant at prayer, ostentatious in a swirling red cape —and yet also a gateway to the new era of Pope John and the Vatican Council, a gateway he himself never quite got through.

But "the real Bishop Sheen" behind all the facts and legends, who is he? Noonan hasn't told us. Maybe even Sheen can't do that.

Shakespeare, Spenser, Donne: Renaissance Essays

FRANK KERMODE

Viking, $7.95

MARK TAYLOR

Probably the best way to see the fundamental importance of these eleven essays is to begin with what may be the most vital of them, "Survival of the Classic." In this seventh chapter Professor Kermode states explicitly the thesis that rather loosely controls his whole study, his whole way of thinking about literature: "Cultural survival is always problematical simply because the information on which it depends is not transmitted genetically; positive and practical action is required of those who think it should not die between one generation and another; and they are the people in the very best position to judge the width of that gap and the degree of adaptation required if the information is successfully to cross it." Kermode himself is one champion of cultural survival, perhaps never more problematical than in our own day, and this book is one attempt to transmit the information on which it depends—to give some great poems of the past to those modern readers who may be in danger of losing them.

This very generous motive does not mean that all the essays here are designed equally for the common reader, although I think that the majority of them require only a moderate familiarity with English literature. The essay on *Paradise Lost*, for example, which will have a special attraction for the student conversant with the twentieth-century attacks on Milton's beliefs and language, does not depend on such knowledge and is likely to send many readers back to the poem itself. It is likely that a reader's subsequent return to the text is the finest product of literary criticism.

Considering Walter Raleigh's charge that *Paradise Lost* is a monument to dead ideas (the "naive" materials of Christian mythology), Professor Kermode responds with the correct defense of this or any successful poem: that it "is not a monument to *any* ideas." A poem, that is, may incorporate certain more-or-less fashionable ideas—it may posit a model of reality that one age will affirm and another reject—but insofar as it is a successful or good *poem* it does not exist to enshrine these ideas. The reader, Kermode writes, owes Milton's ideas no more respect than he owes "the Hindu theology of *A Passage to India*, though of course he owes them no less." We may note that no one would object to Homer's *Odyssey* on the grounds that its mythology is no longer current.

Professor Kermode is wise to defend Milton in such extreme terms, but between the case he makes and Milton's own belief in the literal truth of Genesis there is an intermediate position with which this book as a whole seems to agree. Hindu and Christian theologies (or mythologies, if you will) may have some absolute equivalence; but Christian, or Judeo-Christian, theology is ours, if we happen to live in the West and wish to keep some sense of heritage, and Hindu theology is not. Such an act of insistently aligning oneself with his own past is the point of the remark Robert Lowell attributes to George Santayana, that "There is no God and Mary is His Mother." No culture is more deserving of attention than any other, perhaps, unless it is your own; but that exception makes for everything. The great value of Kermode's book lies less in his perceptive annotations to the details of some poems (as brilliant as many of these are) than in his overriding conviction that the poems are part of some larger cultural and historical truth. Appositely, he quotes W. H. Auden: "Let us remember that, though great artists of the past could not change the course of history, it is only through their work that we are able to break bread with the dead, and without communion with the dead a fully human life is impossible."

Shakespeare properly receives the lion's share of attention in this book. (He is the subject of five essays, Spenser of three, and Donne, Milton, and George Chapman of one each.) Though Kermode has much to say about a number of different plays, the general attitude that I have outlined above can be illustrated with his remarks on Nahum Tate's 1681 adaptation of *King Lear*. Seeking to bring the unruly Shakespeare into line with English neoclassicism, Tate eliminated the Fool and the King of France from the play altogether, married Cordelia to Edgar, and provided a happy ending in which the newlyweds live and Lear has most of his kingdom restored to him. So preposterous do these revisions seem to us today, it is hard to believe that no other *Lear* was staged in England between 1681 and 1838. Kermode shows, however, that as clumsy as Tate's enterprise might now appear, it was not essentially malicious or wrong-headed since it did constitute a critical act by which the play could be kept alive for the Eighteenth Century. In trying to tame *King Lear*, Tate was electing at least to hold onto it, and that is what matters. "Wanting it to be at all is to declare for continuity," Kermode writes, bringing together Tate and two other controversial *Lear* critics, George Or-

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well and Jan Kott. "It amounts to an assertion that, however the world changes, there are some elements in the cultural or human stock which one is not yet prepared to write off, even in the middle of a cultural revolution." Kermode is speaking of a cultural revolution, not in Tate's time, but in ours; let us hope he is right.

The essays on Spenser and Chapman are in the main no less successful than those on the other poets, but perhaps necessarily they are directed toward a more specialized, i.e., professional or academic audience. Even here, however, if you do not lose patience with a fairly heavy apparatus of footnotes and cited critical positions, you can find a good deal that serves to integrate these poets with the more immediately cherished parts of our culture. *The Fairie Queene* and *Lady Chatterley's Lover* may seem strange bedfellows indeed, but Kermode offers one of the most enlightening discussions of Spenser's allegory that I have seen by showing something of the same allegorical method at work, though much less effectively, in Lawrence. Spenser's allegory (or Langland's or Bunyan's) will perforce interest us more, I believe, if we are reminded that the allegorizing consciousness did survive into our century.

These *Renaissance Essays,* then, constitute a kind of *apologia* for literature, especially for the literature of the past. It may be a sad fact that such an *apologia* is needed in 1972, but if it is a fact at all, then we had better have it. Professor Kermode's distinguished collection should impel many of us to a fresh reading of the figures he discusses, and without allowing us to feel that we must take time out from relevance.

REVIEWERS

FATHER HENRY A. ATWELL, former editor of *The Courier Journal*, Rochester's diocesan newspaper, and pastor of St. Agnes Church, Avon, was recently elected executive director of the eight-denomination Genesee Ecumenical Ministries.

MARK TAYLOR teaches in the English and World Literature Department at Manhattan College, and is acting poetry editor of *Commonweal.*

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 75)

perate and is getting worse day by day. Public aid would certainly help. Meantime, let each group interested in a particular school develop its own source of funds—although there should be some Archdiocesan provisions for assisting hard-pressed inner-city groups.

4. Administration: let each group interested in a particular school make all decisions with respect to that school and arrange for implementation. The Archdiocesan Superintendent of Schools should provide professional aid upon request, but not impose standards, rules, controls.

Not one forward step is recommended in these basic areas. So far as the schools are concerned, the Commission leaves Chicago exactly where it's now at—except for recommending one giant step backward.

"We have a grave moral responsibility"

In January, 1968, Thomas Merton wrote: "We have a grave moral responsibility before God to help the innocent victims of our military ventures in Vietnam."

In January, 1972, four years and 4.5 million tons of explosives later, with two more countries ravaged by U.S. military ventures, in Kansas City the National Council of Churches Ecumenical Witness on Vietnam resolved that:

"We commit ourselves . . . to massive medical aid to the peoples of Indochina . . . this aid should be channeled through agencies able to assist victims in Laos, Cambodia, North Vietnam, and the N.L.F. controlled areas of the south, particularly through the U.S. Medical Aid Committee for Indochina, as well as multilateral religious agencies."

In the whole of World War II two million tons of bombs were used. During the Korean war only one million tons of bombs were used. At the end of 1971 6.2 million tons of bombs had been dropped over Indochina. At this date the wanton destruction continues. Please help to send a few messages of life there where the U.S. and its allies rain death.

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There is not a diocese in this country where parish schools have not been free of central control, free to be innovative, from the beginning. If innovation has been lacking, it has not been due to the heavy hand of the Superintendent of Schools. In most dioceses the parish owns the school, and it is said to be a matter of canon law that the Pastor is the Principal of the school. The Superintendent, representing no less an authority than the Bishop himself, may doodle with statistics, dabble in "planning," and make suggestions about the curriculum and "educational policies," but Father Pastor can take the information and advice or leave it alone. Even in the few corporation sole dioceses, where the Bishop owns the schools and everything in them—as in Chicago—Superintendents operate with the same diffidence about "imposing controls" on the Pastors. Being for innovation in education these days is like being for motherhood. But I must agree with Elford: in recommending more local freedom and responsibility in order to achieve more innovation, the Chicago Commission lashed the wrong horse and galloped rearward instead of forward.

The Commission not only rubber-stamped this country-store type of operation, it would make it permanent and irreversible by having each school separately incorporated, and thus legally broken loose not only from the diocese but even from the parish. The idea seems to be that it is necessary to sever all ties with the larger community of the church in order to assure the complete freedom of the school. "We had to destroy it in order to save it." "The poor man must be as free as the king is to sleep each night under the bridge." An incredible step back into unrelieved 19th century rugged individualism, completely out of phase with Vatican II's emphasis on the church as a people, a community.

I don't know whether Elford is right when he surmises that the Commission might have restricted its study to the schools because it would have found itself outside its commission if it had broadened its study to education. If so, the Commission should have complained of the restriction and refused to be bound by it. To study only the schools and not education is like studying birth control and not sex. Surely the Commission learned that one of the reasons the schools are in trouble is the polarization growing in every parish over the school vs. other educational programs. The school problems do not exist in either a practical or a theoretical vacuum.

If the foregoing does not sufficiently indicate where I'm at and what direction I'd like to see the Catholic schools take, let me refer to the Brown-Greeley book *Can Catholic Schools Survive?* which treats the 4 key questions extensively and answers them encouragingly. Briefly:

1. The purpose of the Catholic schools is to provide an integrated Christian-secular education and thereby give the students a position from which they may make sense out of life, mature as authentic human persons, cope with Future Shock, and help re-create the face of the earth.

2. The schools should teach religion, and teach it with Vatican II's openness toward truth as growing, not static; its attitude toward religion as a way of life, not a set of rules; and its view of the Christian religion as the way to full personal and communal humanization and salvation.

3. The political campaign for public aid may be judged by history as the greatest tactical mistake ever made by the Church in the U.S.A. Only the all-schools voucher plan has a chance of being held constitutional, but its political acceptability, difficult at best, has been heavily compromised by the "parochaid" battles. Meantime, Catholic leaders are going to find it difficult to cure the disastrous psychology of "We cannot continue to maintain our schools without public aid." The truth is, we can do so with greater relative ease, despite rising costs, than our forefathers. But we must learn more effective ways of gathering money where it is and more community-conscious ways of distributing it.

4. Innovation and responsibility should be strongly encouraged at the local level, but given any necessary support by the larger community. The indicated means is local decision-making by a representative local Board, subject on the one hand to meeting minimum standards set by a representative diocesan Board, and entitled on the other hand to receive from the diocese needed professional and financial assistance.

It would be heartening to hear of a task force on Catholic education which stated with all decent emphasis that it is time for the diocese to have a credibly representative Board of Education empowered to make policy decisions (subject only to approval or modification by a Diocesan Pastoral Council) with respect to the educational programs (not just the schools) of the diocese; time for the Diocesan Board and the Superintendent's Office and Parish Boards and school and CCD administrators to develop a mutually stimulative and supportive relationship; time for the educational leaders of the diocese, beginning with the Bishop, to reverse their present disposition to turn over the conduct of the battle for survival of the schools—strategy, logistics and all—to the troops, and to resume their proper and necessary duty to *organize* the venture and lead, encourage, and inspire all who are involved in it.

WILLIAM E. BROWN

Washington, D.C.

To the Editors: Just a few brief comments in reply to Mr. Marciniak's response [Feb. 18] to my January 28th discussion of the Chicago School Report.

I agree with Marciniak about the merits of lay involvement in and even lay control of Catholic schools if parish financial support is not thereby diminished. However, the concept of "lay control" is not the same as "local control." In fact, there are grounds for suggesting that in regional or consolidated schools lay control is more likely to develop than in the operation of parish schools which fall under the canonically defined jurisdiction of the pastor.

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Also, by mentioning that the Study Commission's efforts focused on level-one issues, which impression I took from the report, I did not mean to suggest that the Commission passed over the deeper issues. In fact, I thought I had clearly implied otherwise.

To avoid appearing as a roving compulsive critic of worthwhile efforts, I would point out that the editors of *Commonweal* asked me to review the Chicago Study. I felt that the *Commonweal* people wanted me to be candid and not circumspect. GEORGE ELFORD

Reply

Chicago, Ill.

To the Editors: Brown's first two questions locate the crossroads where Catholic schools now stand. But it would be foolish to linger there, hoping for an agreement on "the purpose of Catholic schools," before proceeding further. It will be a long wait. Given the temper of the times, a prefabricated statement of the purpose for Catholic education, which would apply to Catholic schools across the board, is neither possible nor desirable. No better would be a standardized format for religious education—even if the Baltimore Catechism were completely rewritten in the spirit of Vatican II. Local schools should be trusted to work out their own purpose and curriculum.

As to his question about financing schools, I have carefully studied his data on potential resources in *Can Catholic Schools Survive*? and other publications. His statistics do show that Catholics, as time goes by, enjoy higher incomes, spend proportionately less of their income on Catholic schools, and could contribute far more. But the nub of the question is something else: Will pouring all school revenue into a common diocesan pot, to be ladled out to individual schools, actually supply more funds? So far, the evidence indicates the opposite. Centralized funding will not produce enough and make matters worse, leaving to chancery offices the decision to pick the schools to be closed. On the other hand, experience shows that local schools are capable of raising more money on their own, thus making the diocesan-wide aggregate far larger.

With regard to Brown's fourth question, the locus of responsibility for Cathalic schools, the Commission's opening statement about "future directions" for Catholic schools began: "Historically, the strength of the parish school came from its local character." How then does one build on such local strength, rather than sap it as some diocesan school boards are now doing?

Brown describes the Commission's proposal as a "country-store type of operation" and an "incredible step into unrelieved 19th century rugged individualism." Wow! If I had to retrieve a 19th century phrase, it would have been the "principle of subsidiarity." The Commission said: "The local school will become the building block of an archdiocesan school federation, combining the advantages of local option with centralized services, encouraging archdiocesan cooperation for those school functions which can best be done together and local responsibility for those which can best be done by the local community."

George Elford is right: lay control and local control are not necessarily the same. But they should be tried out —in a reorganized church. In calling for parents to oversee schools and for separating the local school from the parish, administratively and financially, the Commission sought to re-arrange traditional relationships. Can there be a creative tension between them? A rupture between school and parish is not necessary. The school can be seen as sharing in the parish responsibility for religious education. And for this service the school is entitled to support from the parish, financial and other.

Similar stress can be built into the association between local schools and a diocesan federation which would set minimum standards for religious education and lead efforts to improve the quality of teaching and remove inequality in education.

Finally, Christian tension can be developed between the school federation and the diocesan-wide church. The duty to educate the children of the poor falls not only upon the school system, but also upon the entire Christian community. Leadership within the church would mobilize resources for those Catholic schools located in neighborhoods with large numbers of low-income families, such as those in public housing. The priorities of the church would challenge local schools, and the federation itself, to go beyond parochial concerns and undertake the larger Christian task.

Elford is too modest about his talents as a critic. *Commonweal*'s editors deserve a good word for asking him to assay the Commission's report.

ED MARCINIAK

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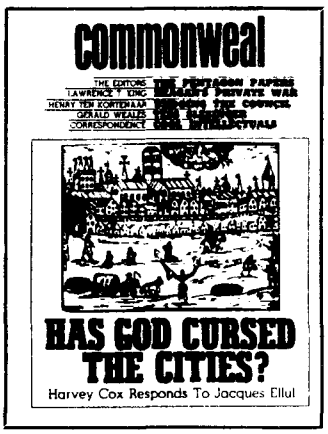

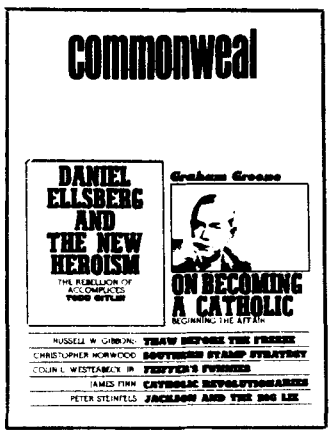

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